

Message Text

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ACTION PM-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-09

NSAE-00 RSC-01 INRE-00 L-02 PRS-01 EUR-10 NEA-06

GAC-01 MBFR-02 SAJ-01 IO-03 OIC-01 ACDA-10 TRSE-00

OMB-01 AEC-05 AECE-00 RSR-01 /082 W

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P R 281635 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4155

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USDEL MC

US DEL SALT TWO- II 141

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USCINCEUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 4553

LIMDIS

BERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR; DISTO; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI

FOR MPT DEL; SHAPE AND MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

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TAGS: PARM, PFOR, GW, MARR, MCAP

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SUBJECT: MBFR AND ALLIANCE DEFENSE DOCTRINE

1. SUMMARY. DURING REVIEW WITH EMBOFF OF HIS MARCH 21-22 TRIP TO WASHINGTON, FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH COMMENTED THAT FORTHCOMING ALLIED DEBATE OVER MBFR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ALSO WOULD OF NECESSITY INVOLVE A RATHER SEARCHING REANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET THREAT AND THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A " REGIONAL DEFENSE BALANCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THIS ASSESSMENT WOULD, IN ROTH'S VIEW, RAISE HIGHLY SENSITIVE ISSUES OF STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR DEFENSE POLICY, THE MOST EFFICIENT WAYS TO DEPLOY WEST EUROPEAN CONVENTIONAL FORCES, AND THE OMNIPRESENT SPECTER OF " DECOUPLING." END SUMMARY.

2. ROTH SAID HE PERSONALLY WELCOMED THE PROSPECT FOR SUCH A BROA THE ADMIRAL STRESSING THAT QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN MISSILES ARE PERMITTED UNDER 5- YEAR INTERIM

AGREEMENT AND US CONTINUES TO CONVERT POLARIS SUBS TO POSEIDON AND OLDER MINUTEMEN TO MINUTEMAN-3'S. BEECHER SAYS PENTAGON RELEASED 60- PAGE UNCLASSIFIED VERSION OF MOORER'S STATEMENT AND RICHARDSON WILL RELEASE AN EVEN LONGER REPORT AFTER PRESIDENT HAS SUBMITTED HIS STATE- OF- WORLD MESSAGE.

2 A. WASHPOST GETLER STRESSES MOORER SAID THERE IS NOW SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE TRYING HARD TO IMPROVE THE ACCURACY OF THEIR INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILE FORCE AND ADDED PENTAGON BELIEVES THEY WILL SOON SUCCEED IN ACCURATELY MIRVING THEIR MISSILES, ALTHOUGH NO CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THEY ACTUALLY HAVE AN OPERATIONAL MIRV. ACCORDING GETLER, MOORER WARNED THAT IN ABSENCE OF A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON FORCE IMPROVEMENT US COULD LOSE ITS QUALITATIVE LEAD.

3. SALT COMMENT. TUESDAY WASHSTAR KELLY PIECE MAINTAINS THERE IS GROWING SKEPTICISM IN WASHINGTON ABOUT CHANCES FOR SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION OF SOME MAJOR ARMS QUESTIONS AND ONE IMPORTANT REASON IS THAT THE NEGOTIATORS CONSTANTLY ARE IN DANGER OF BEING OUTDISTANCED AND OUTFLANKED BY UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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TECHNOLOGY. KELLY SAYS NUCLEAR THREAT TO RUSSIA FROM FORWARD- BASED SYSTEMS MIGHT GROW RAPIDLY DESPITE APPARENTLY SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS, CITING HOW GENERAL

DYNAMICS IS CIRCULATING BROCHURE SHOWING HOW TACTICAL F-111 BOMBERS COULD PROVIDE LONG- RANGE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, KELLY ADDING THAT F-14 FIGHTERS WITH REFUELING COULD REACH TARGETS 500 MILES INSIDE SOVIET UNION. KELLY ADDS BECAUSE OF SOVIET SECRECY, TECHNOLOGICAL THREAT TO US COULD GROW RAPIDLY IN TOTALLY UNEXPECTED WAYS, SO-- ALTHOUGH NEGOTIATIONS ARE ACTIVELY GOING ON-- THERE IS GROWING FEELING HERE THAT THEY ARE CONTINUING NOT BECAUSE OF ANY GREAT HOPE SIMPLY BECAUSE NOTHING ELSE OFFERS MUCH HOPE EITHER.

3 A. SATURDAY' S CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR HAD ROSCOE DRUMMOND COLUMN CALLING IT IMPERATIVE PRESIDENT TAKE SOLID STEPS TO MELT ICY RELATIONS BETWEEN CONGRESS AND WHITE HOUSE AND URGING PRESIDENT TO GIVE CONGRESS SOME REPRESENTATION AT SALT TWO SO SENATE WILL NOT HAVE TO TAKE WHAT COMES OUT OF NEGOTIATIONS ONLY ON THE WORD OF OTHERS WHO WERE PRESENT, DRUMMOND CITING WILSON' S FAILURE WITH VERSAILLES TREATY AND ROOSEVELT' S SUCCESS WITH UN CHARTER. OTHERWISE TREATY IS GOING TO BE UNQUESTIONABLY IN TROUBLE WITH SENATE, SAYS DRUMMOND, ADDING THAT RISK OF LOSING WHOLE CAUSE OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IS REAL.

4. TROOPS. SATURDAY CHICAGO NEWS EDITORIAL WAS ENTITLED, TIME TO TRIM FORCES, EDITORIAL HOLDING THAT DOLLAR CRISIS BY ITSELF PROVIDES URGENT REASON FOR CUTBACKS AND MANSFIELD' S EUROPEAN PROPOSAL LOOKS BETTER ALL THE TIME, ADDING THE PROSPEROUS NATIONS THERE ARE SURELY IN A POSITION BY NOW TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE INSTEAD OF LEANING SO HEAVILY ON US.

4 A. EARLIER SALT LAKE CITY TRIBUNE EDITORIAL NOTED SEN. JACKSON CALLED DEMOCRATIC TALK OF TROOP REDUCTIONS IRRESPONSIBLE AT THIS TIME AND BRAY' S STATEMENT REDUCTIONS COULD SHAKE THE CONFIDENCE OF OUR ALLIES AND BRAY' S DENUNCIATION OF MANSFIELD' S ESTIMATES OF SAVING ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT COST 17 BILLIONS A YEAR TO MAINTAIN US TROOPS COMMITTED TO NATO. TRIBUNE SAYS THAT SINCE US IS NEGOTIATING WITH RUSSIANS IT OBVIOUSLY ISN' T UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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OPPOSED TO TROOP REDUCTIONS AND MANSFIELD SEES NO REASON FOR PUTTING OFF SOMETHING THAT IS OBVIOUSLY GOING TO OCCUR SOMEDAY.

5. CHINA. WASHPOST HAS BRIEF HEADED LAW OF SEA REPORTING FROM UNITED NATIONS THAT CHINA DEMANDED NUCLEAR SUBS BE BARRED FROM INTERNATIONAL WATERS, DELEGATE SHA PU DIRECT-

ING HIS SPEECH MAINLY AT US AND RUSSIA AND ALSO ADVOCATING MARITIME CONTROLS TO PREVENT MANIPULATION OR MONOPOLIZATION IN ANY MANNER BY THE SUPERPOWERS.

5 A. NYTIMES HEADS ALDEN STORY, CHINA WOULD BAR SEABED TO NATIONS; SEEKS IN UN TO RESTRICT EXPLOITATION TO WORLD BODY, ALDEN SAYING CHINA MADE A SWEEPING GROUP OF PROPOSALS ON SEA LAW, ONE REQUIRING THAT ONLY AN INTERNATIONAL BODY BE GIVEN THE POWER TO EXPLOIT DIRECTLY THE RESOURCES THAT LIE ON THE SEA FLOOR OR BENEATH IT. CHINA ADDED THAT A PROHIBITION ON ALL NUCLEAR SUBMARINES IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND THE BANNING OF ALL NUCLEAR AND OTHER WEAPONS FROM INTERNATIONAL SEA BED IS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP TO INSURE THAT SEABED BE USED ONLY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, ALDEN REPORTS, ADDING PROPOSAL IS CERTAIN TO MEET WITH UNALTERABLE OPPOSITION FROM BOTH US RUSSIA WHICH BASE MUCH OF THEIR CAPABILITY TO RESPOND TO NUCLEAR ATTACK ON THEIR SUBMARINES.

6. AMSTERDAM. TUESDAY WASHSTAR BOROWIEC REPORTED FROM PARIS THAT AMSTERDAM PARELY CONFIRMED THE DIFFICULTIES PLAGUING THE ONCE SOLID WESTERN BLOC AND BOROWIEC QUOTED EUGENE ROSTOW SAYING SITUATION IS TOO GRAVE TO BE LEFT TO GOVERNMENTS AND TO EXPERTS, ADDING PACKARD SPOKE ABOUT SOVIET- AMERICAN NUCLEAR STALEMATE WHICH HAS AGAIN

BROUGHT TO THE FORE THE IMPORTANCE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND HE URGED NATO BE GIVEN TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY IN SUCH WEAPONS. BOROWIEC ADDED FEW CONFEREES BELIEVED THAT IN THIS AGE OF DETENTE THERE IS A THREAT OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN HEART OF EUROPE AND BREZEZINSKI SAID ASIA HAS BECOME A MORE EXPLOSIVE AREA THAN EUROPE.

6 A. WASHPOST NOSSITER REPORTS AMSTERDAM MEETING WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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WARNED THAT MIDEAST OIL NATIONS WILL BE THREAT TO WEST. ROGERS

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-09

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INFO USMISSION BERLIN

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US DEL SALT TWO- II 142

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 4553

LIMDIS

BERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR; DISTO; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI
FOR MPT DEL; SHAPE AND MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

5. ROTH TOLD EMBOFF HE DID NOT SHARE THIS " EMOTIONAL
TALK", BELIEVING INSTEAD THAT A REGIONAL BALANCE UNDER THE
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US STRATEGIC UMBRELLA, MORE EFFICIENT USE OF CONVEN-
TIONAL FORCES AND THE IMPOSITION OF " LEGAL CONSTRAINTS"

ON THE POLITICO/ MILITARY USES OF SOVIET FORCES IN EUROPE COULD, IN FACT, ALONG WITH A SUFFICIENT SUPERPOWER STRATEGIC BALANCE, PROVIDE RELATIVELY SATISFACTORY MILITARY STABILITY AND SECURITY TO WEST EUROPE. BUT ROTH POINTED OUT THAT THE ANALYSIS IN PARA 4 IS WINNING INCREASED ACCEPTANCE IN EUROPE AND THUS ENGENDERING NUMEROUS QUESTIONS REGARDING MEDIUM AND LONG RANGE US GOALS CONCERNING EUROPEAN SECURITY.

6. COMMENT: AT THE RISK OF OVERSIMPLIFICATION, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RELATIVE " OPTIMISTS" AND "WASHINGTON EARLY THIS MONTH, WITH L' EXPRESS ALLEGING AEROSAT HISTORY AND NOW LATEST MOVE BY COMSAT RE MARITIME SATELLITE BEAR OUT WHAT IT DESCRIBES AS LEVY THESIS EUROPE WILL HAVE TO DEVELOP ITS OWN LAUNCHER CAPABILITY IF US DOES NOT ABANDON PRESENT MONOPOLY AND PROVIDE REAL GUARANTEE LAUNCHER AVAILABILITY FOR EUROPEAN SATELLITES.

4. LEVY PHONED EMBASSY A PROPOS L' EXPRESS ARTICLE TO EXPRESS HIS CONCERN AT MISSTATEMENT HIS POSITION. (LEVY' S POSITION AS STATED WASHINGTON IS THAT ONLY REAL GUARANTEES FROM US ON GRANTING OF LICENSES FOR EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION AMERICAN LAUNCHER VEHICLES OR ON AVAILABILITY AMERICAN LAUNCHERS COULD LEAD EUROPEAN RECONSIDER ITS POSITION ENVISAGE CONTINUING ITS OWN LAUNCHER PROGRAM).

5. FRENCH AVIATION WEEKLY AIR ET COSMOS IN MARCH 10 ISSUE HAS REACTED IN MUCH SAME MANNER TO COMSAT ANNOUNCEMENT AS L' EXPRESS, REFLECTING PROBABLY INEVITABLE TENDENCY SEE NEFARIOUS ULTERIOR MOTIVES BEHIND COMSAT DEVELOPMENT MARITIME SATELLITE WITH USG BACKING AT THIS STAGE.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: THOUGH WE HAVE NO GOF REACTION AS YET, WOULD BE HELPFUL BE FOREARMED WITH WHATEVER BACKGROUND INFO DEPT CAN PROVIDE ON COMSAT CONTRACT WITH NAVY AND POSSIBLE IMPACT THIS DEVELOPMENT ON IMCO MARSAT EXERCISE.

DECON FOL MARCH 27, 1974.
IRWIN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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To: BERLIN
BRUSSELS
GENEVA
LONDON
MOSCOW
PM
SECSTATE WASHDC

THE HAGUE

WASHDC

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